

Long Live the November Revolution

The fifty-sixth anniversary of the great November Revolution is being observed by the people all over the world and on this historic occasion the people of our country, along with the other oppressed people of the world who are fighting against all sorts of injustice and exploitation of man by man are renewing their pledge to end the exploiting social order and establish socialism in the country for the unhindered progress of the entire people in the economic, social and cultural spheres.

The November Revolution has been the fountain-head of inspiration to the oppressed people all over the world. Many a great victory has been achieved since the November Revolution and about one third of the population of the world has established socialism in their respective countries. The victories of socialism in different countries gave a new impetus to the national liberation struggles in the colonies and anti-capitalist revolutionary struggles in the different capitalist countries and put the imperialist countries on the defensive and the world revolution was at door step. This favourable situation continued till the advent of the revisionist Khrushchevite leadership of the CPSU when the tide was reversed due to the cleavage in the world communist movement because of the pursuance of the revisionist policies by the Soviet leadership. The revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union reflected totally non-Marxian World-out look on the questions of war and peace, peaceful co-existence and peaceful transition to socialism and thereby created much confusion and harm in the international communist movement.

The failure on the part of the Soviet revisionist leadership to understand the revolutionary significance of the policy of peaceful-co-existence has been clearly demonstrated in Carribean crisis, Tonkin crisis and recently in Middle East crisis.

It is because of the revisionist policies of the Soviet leadership that the international communist movement is divided and the imperialism, particularly the US imperialists took full advantage of

the cleavage within the international communist movement and launched attacks, intervened in the internal affair of the countries and even dared to attack North Vietnam, a brotherly socialist state with impunity. It is because of the consistently tough anti-imperialist policies and particularly anti-US imperialist policies pursued by China, that the containment of China and the two China theory of the US imperialists have been defeated and with the defeat in Vietnam coupled with the growing monetary crisis, the rising tide of peace movements in different countries and particularly the strong anti-war mood of the American people, the imperialists are again on the retreat. So at the critical juncture, notwithstanding ideological differences which must not be compromised under any pretext and should be resolved through relentless ideological struggles with open mind maintaining the norms and the necessary and accepted communist code of conduct, a united face against imperialism is of utmost importance in the interest of national liberation struggles and revolutionary movements in different countries.

To this effect Com Sibdas Ghose, the General Secretary of our party, the SUCI and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the age issued an appeal to the communist parties abroad and it is heartening to note that the Communist Party of China has realised the underlying spirit of the appeal and in its message of greetings on the occasion of the 55th anniversary last year as also on the 56th anniversary, this

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SAVAGE LATHI CHARGE BY POLICE

Spontaneous response to the call of Civil Disobedience Movement

Calcutta, November 15 :—Police resorted to most savage lathi charge on the demonstrators participating in the mass civil disobedience movement under the leadership of nine left parties. Even the women participants were not spared and according to reports available uptill now, the number of SUC workers and supporters including women who sustained injuries was about seven hundred.

There was spontaneous response to the call of nine leftist parties in the civil disobedience movement in Calcutta and thousands of people participated. People of Calcutta and also from the suburban areas joined in thousands. About four thousand SUC workers and supporters of whom about two thousands came from south 24 Parganas assembled in Subodh Mullick square where the supporters and workers of other parties also assembled. The rally started from there and was led by com Subodh Bannerji, Jyoti Basu, Nikhil Das and other leaders of the nine leftist parties. The demonstrators were completely peaceful and reached the Esplanade East when the leaders and a section of the demonstrators were arrested. Among the SUC leaders arrested were Com Subodh Bannerji and Com Ranjit Dhar. Then the police threw a barricade at the place where a section of the SUC demonstrators were waiting and without any provocation resorted to indiscriminate

lathi charging on the demonstrators among whom were quite a large number of women participants. The attack was pre-planned. There was armed police picketting in whole of Esplanade area, Lenin Sarani and Subodh Mullick square from where the rally started.

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School of Politics at Rourkela

Rourkela, 31st October : A school of politics was held at Rourkela from 28th October to 31st October under the auspices of the Sundargarh District Committee of the SUCI. Four hundred and ten party workers and supporters participated in the school. Detailed discussions on Marxism, dialectical materialism and on national and international questions were made. Com Shibdas Ghose, the leader and the teacher of the party and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the age made a brilliant discussion on these subjects.

AN INSIGHT INTO LEFT MOVEMENT

"CONVERGENCE" THEORY OF THE CPI AND THE OPPORTUNISM OF THE CPI(M)

Confronted with the tremendous hardship in the economic front and the acute food crisis the common toiling masses in West Bengal have for a long time been aspiring for launching a mighty united left democratic movement against the Congress Government in the state. The nine left and democratic parties in response to this desire of the common people have adopted a programme of massive democratic movement on the basis of some immediate and concrete demands.

The programme earlier announced, included mass civil disobedience movement from 12th to 14th November at different district headquarters and on 15th November in Calcutta and along with it a decision for holding Bangla bandh on 19th November was also announced. Naturally such a programme of mighty democratic movement against the Congress Government has created much enthusiasm among the people and the preparation for this movement was going on at a fast pace.

In a situation like this the CPI, the partner of the Congress in the PDA came forward with its convergent movement programme and the CPI-led Trade Union organisation along with the Congress-led labour organisation have jointly adopted an alternative programme of mass demonstration at Writers Building on 17th November and along with it partial ceasework in industrial undertakings. Leaving aside whether it can at all be termed as a movement, the sponsors of this programme also appealed to the nine left and democratic parties to participate in this programme of 17th November by cancelling their own programme of Bangla bandh on 19th November. There was very little doubt that this programme jointly sponsored by the CPI and the Congress was really aimed at sabotaging the democratic movement that was gradually intensifying under the leadership of the nine left and

democratic parties and frustrate the main objective of anti-Congressism of this democratic movement. So it was of utmost importance to stand firm to the programme adopted previously by the nine parties and implement this programme with all earnestness and thereby give defeat to the politics of the CPI in the interest of real democratic movement. But surprisingly the CPI(M), in stead if doing that placed a proposal before the nine party meeting to organise Bangla bandh on 17th instead of 19th (the later date was decided only five days ago) on the plea of converging this movement with the programme of CPI Congress alliance. It was quite natural that we strongly objected to this proposal.

One is aware that it is because of the capitalist state machine which preserves an exploitative capitalist economic system and the unbridled power of a handful of monopolists over the majority of the working population that there is an ever deepening crisis in our everyday life. So under these circumstances although by the pressure of mighty democratic movement some relief can be given to the people or some of their demands met during the present capitalist regime it will not be possible to free the broad masses from all-out crisis, until and unless the present exploitative capitalist state machine is smashed through revolution and a socialist system established freeing mankind from all sorts of exploitation. Particularly when under the

present third phase of acute crisis of market of world capitalism, as the capitalist system is being confronted with deeper economic crisis so also the problems of the toiling masses are becoming increasingly more severe it is of foremost importance to develop speedily the necessary revolutionary consciousness and organisation for the success of anti-capitalist revolution in our country. So whenever mass movement may be launched on any issue the main objective behind these democratic struggles while being led to realise some demands should be to create on one hand strong public opinion against the present capitalist state system, the ruling bourgeoisie and the party defending their interest the ruling Congress and on the other hand to organise and consolidate the various democratic struggles finally leading these to the struggle for overthrow of the capitalist state system. Any democratic movement divorced from the main objective even if able sometimes to realise some demands, only leads the people astray from this basic struggle for anti-capitalist revolution and helps to sustain the capitalist system.

Whatever may be difference in the angularity of the nine left and democratic parties among themselves united on the basis of various democratic demands including food, the main trend of movement led by them is directed against Congress with an object to establish the leadership of the left and democratic parties over the masses by way of these movements against the Congress. On the other hand the main trend underlying the programme of struggle adopted by the CPI is not at all directed against the Congress, rather its aim, as stated by the CPI is to lead the ruling

Congress and the PDA ministry in the right track, to assist Congress in maintaining its rule and consolidating the leadership of the Progressive Democratic Alliance, that is the Congress CPI alliance over the people. But the CPI(M), by making a plea of unity of the working class and the people has tried to merge the two programmes of struggle having fundamentally different political objective and proposed to bring back the programme of 19th on to the 17th as announced by the CPI. We had no reason to object had the CPI despite its alliance with the Congress and having a different political line participated in the movement sponsored by the left and democratic parties even on the basis of some issues or had it proposed to make even partial convergence of their own programme of struggle with that of the nine parties. But in converging the programme of nine left and democratic parties with the programme announced by the CPI, whose object is to defend the Congress and spread illusion among the people about the main trend of anti-Congress left democratic struggle, the primary political objective of anti-Congressism has been undermined and it is the CPI's political purpose which is reality has been helped to be fulfilled. It is for this reason that we had registered strong protest against the proposal to alter the programme of Bangla bandh on 17th November.

We did not resent this proposal to alter the date of Bangla bandh out of any compulsion of prestige, nor did we feel that it was impossible to have any joint movement with the CPI or the CPI as not a democratic force. Rather we feel that although there is no possibility of any immediate joining of the CPI with the

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A Review of the West Asia war

The recent Arab-Israel conflict in West Asia that perhaps temporarily ended by the imposition of the U.S.-Soviet resolution on ceasefire jointly engineered by the U.S. imperialist and the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union had on the one hand jeopardised the legitimate interest of the Arab nations and on the other once more revealed before the world people how the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union for some years past, abandoning the pursuit of the policy of peaceful coexistence, in the name of upholding the same are in reality not only pursuing the path of peaceful capitulation but also at times in collusion with U.S. imperialists taking steps or decisions tantamounting to interferences into the internal affairs of different countries and intrigues against the freedom loving people of those countries.

Moreover the role played by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union in different international events including the recent incident of West Asian conflict revealed that not only it is due to the out and out revisionist policy of her leadership that Soviet Union is repeatedly failing to discharge her bounden international duty of helping the fighting people engaged in revolutionary struggles in capitalist countries, national liberation struggles in colonies and semi-colonies and people fighting against naked foreign interference and aggression for the preservation of their independence, sovereignty and national territory, even at times due to various condemnable actions and moves of her revisionist leadership in the arena of international politics, the Soviet Union is often being criticised in strong terms by the world people for backstabbing the cause of the fighting people of different countries.

Now, we would like to draw the attention of our readers to the problem of Middle East especially in the perspective of the role played by the Soviet leadership in the last conflict that took place in this region. The problem of the Middle East is long standing and the manner in which the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union tackled the issue both in the past and also this time has actually helped to keep alive the West Asian crisis along with every possibility of the danger of

future aggression of the Arab countries by Israel. Israel from its very emergence as a racial state has been utilised by the imperialist as a spring-board for launching attack on the resurgent Arab nationalists. Its very creation was to a great extent motivated with this imperialist design. It is quite obvious that such a state whose leaders are acting as stooges of the US imperialists would be aided with most modern and sophisticated arms and would repeatedly launch war of aggression on the Arab countries threatening their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty. In fact the racial state of Israel created by the initiatives of the imperialist powers by ignoring the legitimate right of the Palestinian Arab people and being helped in all possible ways by the US imperialists is acting as the worst type of enemy against the resurgent Arab countries. Now any one having the least knowledge of the imperialist policies and designs would easily understand the role played by Israel vis-a-vis the US imperialists.

But what is most condemnable is the fact that the present leadership of the party once led by Lenin and Stalin, pursuing the worst type of revisionist policy entered into collusion with the US imperialists to increase their respective sphere of influence and in this process instead of helping the Arab people in their legitimate struggle against the aggressors to recover the

lost territory and for preserving their existing territory and independence has actually backstabbed their cause.

In fact the role of the Soviet leaders in the issue of the Middle East has never been above criticism.

In the last summit held between Brezhnev and Nixon, it was not only that no advancement was noted in regard to the problem of the Middle East, certain daily press of Cairo even chided the Soviet Union for accepting the American terminology in regard to the balance of forces in the Middle East. This time what the Soviet leaders have done is some thing worst that is ever possible. In fact the recent course of events in the Middle East and the role played by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union in the last conflict in that region have glaringly revealed the correctness of our estimation regarding the role, attitude and outlook of the said leadership that we made earlier after a review of the Nixon-Brezhnev summit when we expressed our apprehension that the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union might be hand in glove with the US imperialist to increase their respective spheres of influence.

For, a thorough objective analysis of the role played by the Soviet leaders in the recent West Asian conflict would reveal to any one that while the US imperialist are engaged in keeping the West Asian tension alive as long as possible in furtherance of their policy of interference and intrigue aimed at to advance their hegemony, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union most surprisingly have entered into mutual collusion and contention for increasing their spheres of influence. The question of the pursuance of the policy of interference that is being raised against the present Soviet leadership also does not appear astonishing to us.

For any learned reader might remember that while commenting on the US-Soviet detente we already stated before that 'we firmly hold the view that the Soviet leadership not only utterly violated the basic principle of non-interference of any country into the internal affairs of any other country, on the contrary they have given their stamp on the imperialist policy of continuous interference and aggression.....' (Proletarian Era, dated 15.9.73).

Now, one of the important aspects of the last West Asian conflict that was noted by many along with us was the fact that the attitudes of many major West European capitalist countries like France, West Germany and others towards the West Asian problem were different from that of the USA. While the US imperialists were actively engaged in aiding the US dictated Israel in all possible way in her naked war of aggression against the Arab countries most of the European countries observed neutrality and some even expressed their pro-Arab neutrality. It was learnt that when the US decided to send war supplies to Israel from her bases in Europe, at first West Germany opposed the US decision to send war materials from the US bases in her territory. But ultimately though she had to yield to US pressure, the public announcement of the same was much delayed and 'the delay in announcing this was believed connected with West German fears that disclosing it would harm Bonn's public image of neutrality in the West Asian War' (Amrita bazar Patrika - dated 21.10.73.) Again it clearly came to the press that both Britain and France felt humiliated as the US decision to place her forces on alert around the world was taken without prior consultation with them. Moreover France made her

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CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE US AND WEST

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objections to the ceasefire resolution known to the Security Council. It was widely considered both in Paris and NATO headquarters that Mr. Nixon's response to the West Asian crisis was a patent over-reaction. A support to the US decision was lacking also due to the fact that there was the other feeling prevalent among the West Europeans that Mr. Nixon's moves seemed to be actions on the part of a man in the beleaguered state. The West Europeans' antipathy towards US move in West Asian conflict was also revealed when it was publicly reported that NATO diplomats had been irked at not being kept informed of the American action and one official in Brussels was quoted to have made the comment that Mr. Nixon was playing round with anything to divert attention from the Watergate affair. In Rome it was stated that the political circles displayed surprise and concern at the Washington announcement. In Bonn, a press report stated that a West German Defence Ministry spokesman categorically stated that the alert did not include West German or other NATO forces. Now all these clearly indicated the existence of contradictions between the USA on the one hand and the major European countries on the other in regard to the West Asian conflict. For obvious reasons if the Soviet leaders have seriously considered to uphold the cause of the Arab people then they would have utilised the existing contradiction between the USA and the metropolitan capitalist countries of Europe.

If they would have correctly tackled the existing differences in attitude between the West European imperialist countries and the USA in regard to the Arab-Israel issue with a view to

mobilising and consolidating the world opinion which was mostly in favour of the Arab nations, against the US imperialists and their stooge, Israel and thereby completely isolated them from other countries of the world and at the same time wholeheartedly helped the Arab countries by aiding with the most modern and sophisticated weapons essential to frustrate the challenge put up by the US imperialist-dictated Israel, then the West Asian conflict could have been directed to its logical culmination through an all-out victory in favour of the Arab nations. So, there was an excellent opportunity for giving a crushing defeat to the US imperialist-dictated aggressor Israel and thereby permanently resolve the Middle East problem through the realisation of the just and legitimate cause of the Arab people.

Now one might observe that if the events would have been directed towards the course as we have stated earlier, then there would have been a danger of the area of conflict being widened and the war situation would then have taken a more serious turn. We would like to observe, and, we hope that any sensible man would agree with us, that, in the existing state of affairs there was least possibility that Mr. Nixon would have ventured any adventurous move. The Watergate affair has taken a serious shape and not only the most dependable persons of Nixon, even Mr. Nixon himself have to face a difficult situation at home which, with days passing, is gradually becoming more and more intensified. The external situation was also not congenial to him for widening the war. The attitude expressed by the West European countries, which we have already referred before, clearly indicated that they would have been the last to support any

US move to widen the war. In such a situation, Mr. Nixon could not have taken any adventurous move even if he desired it and if the Soviet leaders could have correctly tackled the situation then the world people could have recorded a glorious victory of the freedom loving Arab people. But in reality, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union did just the opposite. Instead of utilising the existing contradiction between the USA and the West European countries with a view to creating a situation in favour of an all-out victory of the Arabs, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, with a view to increasing their mutual spheres of influence, entered into collusion with those US imperialists who for a long time past were utilising Israel as their stooge for achieving their imperialist designs in the Middle East that resulted in the outbreak of naked Israeli aggression against the Arab resurgent nationalist countries. The revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, along with the US imperialists, jointly designed a ceasefire resolution without any prior consultation with those countries who wholeheartedly supported the Arab people and by dint of their superpower diplomacy they got the resolution passed in the UN and thereby imposed a ceasefire most humiliating to the Arab people as well as detrimental to their interest. Moreover, this humiliating ceasefire resolution imposed upon the Arab nations had given a strong blow to their unity against the US imperialism—which was of late developing out of the twists and turns of the Middle East politics. For the present it not only damaged their unity but even threatened to break their backbones. For obvious reasons, many Arab countries expressed their strong indignation over the said cease-fire resolution which was jointly imposed by the

revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union and the US imperialists in utter violation of all norms of justice. Moreover, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, by their actions, have not only backstabbed the cause of the Arab people but also helped in weakening the militant anti-US imperialist attitude prevalent among the countries of the third world thereby creating not only a feeling of apprehension about but also of indignation among them against the activities of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, they failed to utilise the anti-US feeling being created among a section of the West European countries for losing their spheres of influence in the Middle East region to the USA and as a result a golden and excellent opportunity was lost for isolating the USA and thereby paving the path to victory for the Arab by giving a crushing defeat to the US imperialist-dictated Israel.

Apart from this, there is another vital aspect of the whole issue.

We have repeatedly observed in the past that the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union as they are victims of US nuclear blackmail and thereby suffering from the fear complex of global war due to their lack of correct understanding of the policy of peaceful coexistence take recourse to the path of peaceful capitulation and thereby give worst type of concession to the imperialists with the mistaken belief that by this way it would be possible to avoid impending war. But the Cuban affair, the experience of Vietnam war, and others have clearly revealed before the world people the naked fact that this policy of capitulation to and appeasement of the imperialists not only failed to avoid war and future imperialist aggressions in any way, but on the contrary it helped

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to strengthen the imperialists, who gained more military prestige and thereby achieved greater power of domination over the world events. Again it often happens that though the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union try their utmost to avoid the creation of situation that might lead to war yet due to their lack of correct understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and their applications in the arena of international politics, they fail to tackle a critical situation, act impulsively and thereby push the entire situation to the brink of war. When such a situation develops, they obviously try to retreat to avoid war and to make their retreat possible they give greater concessions to the imperialist.

In the last Arab-Israeli conflict the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union did not help the Arab countries with the most modern and sophisticated weapons necessary to fight out the Israeli army equipped with most modern armaments supplied by the USA. Now, instead of aiding the Arabs with the military help necessary to smash the Israeli aggression completely the Soviet revisionist leadership acted in an impulsive manner to push the situation on the edge of bigger war. It was once announced that the Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist countries (of course excluding China and certain other socialist countries) considered their major task to reinforce their political vigilance and prepare their armed forces for combat in view of the West Asian war. More over when USA turned down the proposal of sending US and Soviet troops into the Middle East to supervise ceasefire the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union sent word to Washington stating that they were prepared to unilaterally send troops to police cease-fire and it was further learnt that with this end in view certain

army units and paratroopers were placed on the alert. But the US imperialists from their previous experiences could realise that the Soviet alert was nothing but a bluff and on the face of any counter-threat the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union would retreat from their position immediately. For that reason, even though they were isolated from their West European allies they did not fail to retaliate by putting US forces throughout the World on the wide alert and cautioned the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union to abandon any plan they might have had to send troops in the Middle East.

Now, though we have already opined before that due to various internal and external factors the USA was not in a position to venture any step or action that might lead to a widening of the war arena, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union due to their lack of correct understanding of the situation got afraid of the possibility of a bigger war being broken out of their impulsive action and at once they backed out from their position and dropped the plan of unilaterally sending troops in the Middle East.

We firmly hold the view that this sort of impulsive move on the part of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union instead of helping the cause of the Arab people had only helped the US imperialists to gain military prestige.

Lastly, before concluding, we would like to observe some other aspects of the problem of Middle East. We have already stated before that the racial state of Israel was the creation of the imperialist. The imperialist power sought a suitable spring board for launching attack on the resurgent Arab nationalism, since the very creation of Israel as a state, her leaders are acting as the stooges of the US imperialists

and serving their purposes. Though we cannot help but accept the existence of the state of Israel at present as a reality however, in whatever manner she might have come into existence in the past, but still we firmly hold the view that Israel should give up her anti-Arab naked aggressive policy, and should not allow the imperialists to use her as a spring board for launching attack on the resurgent Arab nationalists. She should give up her Zionist attitude and the policy of racial discrimination still pursued by her and give due recognition to legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people so that they might enjoy equal rights with the Israeli in all spheres of life. We would like to urge upon the people of Israel to realise that their Zionist attitude and the pursuance of the policy of racial discrimination, would act as barriers to their own emancipation from the imperialist domination. For everywhere the imperialists conspire to establish their hegemony the decadent and revivalist

ideas like racial jingoism, spiritualism, parochialism, and all other sorts of reactionary ideas fertile the ground in favour of imperialist domination. The people of Israel should further note that if they sincerely desire to emerge as a real sovereign national state then they should give up all sorts of policy of discrimination practised against the Palestinian Arab people. For it is only through the development of social intercourse with them that they would be able to emerge as a nation and thereby would ultimately reach their cherished goal.

Finally we would like to urge upon all Arab nations and the fighting people of the Arab countries to consolidate their country, to learn from their experience so that they might take a firm united stand to frustrate the policy of interference and intrigue of both the US imperialists and the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union and remain firm and united in their fight against US imperialist backed Israel till their just cause is achieved.

November Revolution observed in Gauhati

Gauhati, November 6—The 56th anniversary of the great November Revolution was observed here today by the Gauhati District Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India. In this connection a public meeting was held at Nabin Bardouli Hall under the Presidentship of Com. Saradindu Biswas, Secretary, Gauhati District Committee of the SUCI.

Com. Probhat Khataniar, who was the main speaker in the meeting, in course of his speech explained the fundamental teachings of the November Revolution in the context of the concrete situation of our country, dealt at length as to why India was at present in the stage of socialist revolution, urged upon the people to rally under the banner of the SUCI and be imbued with the thought of Com Sibdas Ghosh, one of the outstanding Marxist thinkers of the day and General Secretary of the SUCI and emphasized at the

present stage of development of mass struggles, on the need for forging a united front of the left and democratic parties and forces on the basis of an agreed minimum common programme thereby providing the people with an instrument of united struggle against the common enemy.

The meeting adopted four resolutions on various problems of Assam, Coms. Rani Dutta, Prabhat Burman, Kantimoy Deb and Indu Bhowmick spoke on the resolutions.

CPI (M) Wants to be Closer to CPI

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the left and democratic front owing to the partnership with the Congress in the PDA in accordance with its present political line. Still if there is any scope of joint struggle with the CPI, even partially on any issue we shall make our best effort to drag the CPI into this struggle. It is rather the CPI(M) leaders who even a few days ago objected to this proposal of our party on the ground that despite some united struggle actually launched with the CPI outside West Bengal it would not be possible to venture any joint struggle with the CPI at least in West Bengal as long as it belongs to the PDA. Today the same CPI(M) leaders prompted by the necessity to develop a close relation with the CPI have made a *volte face* overnight and have started to make a fresh evaluation about the CPI. In such queer political behaviour of the CPI(M) only the narrow sectarian interest of the party can be served. The interest of real democratic movement was never attached and is not attached even now with this politics. We were never opposed to any joint struggle with the CPI by maintaining the main objective and programme of united left movement. We would not have objected had the CPI(M) been able to drag the CPI into the present left movement launched in protest against the anti-people food policy of the Congress Government and the unbearable price rise of all commodities or had it brought the CPI for even partial convergence of their programme with the programme of the united left movement. Whatever may be the politics of the CPI, their participation with the main trend of the left movement would undoubtedly have strengthened the left movement itself and the CPI's contradiction with the Congress, then would have found some real expression.

That is despite the CPI's pro-Congress political line if we could prevail upon them to participate with the main current of left democratic struggle the left movement would advance forward smoothly to its goal on the one hand and on the other hand the contradiction between the CPI and the Congress—the CPI(M) leaders are at present talking much about using this contradiction—could be actually handled and best use of the contradiction or weaknesses within the enemy camp could be made. But without doing this, the CPI(M) leaders by converging the programme of left movement with the programme thrown by the CPI on the plea of united struggle have actually sacrificed, whatever be their logic, the basic objective and helped to fulfil the political aim of the CPI. For, by doing this, the extent to which the CPI's movement has gained some weight in the minds of the people, to that extent the influence of political movement as defined by the CPI has increased and contrarily, to the same extent, confusion has been created about the definite anti-Congress political trend of the left struggle. If on the other hand, the CPI had moved jointly with the Congress with their accepted programme then by persuing their policy to raise slogan only against the blackmarketeers and hoarders, shielding the Congress's responsibility for all afflicting problems the CPI would have been laughed at by the people just as the student and youth organisations led by the ruling Congress, by this empty slogans and so-called movement against hoarders and blackmarketeers have been laughed at by the people.

In this context the CPI(M) leaders apart from talking about the united struggle and handling of contradiction between the CPI and the Congress have pointed about the wage cut to be suffered by workers for two days of

consecutive ceasework and other difficulties.¹ Our contention to that was when there is some political forces engaged openly in sabotaging the anti-Congress left political movement, it will always try to do such things in accordance with its political motive, to frustrate the programme of anti-Congress left movement no matter at what moment this programme is accepted by the left and democratic parties. We had also referred that when the Congress had declared in clear terms that it would oppose the strike called by the leftists, whatever may be the date of strike as soon as the programme of 19th would be brought back on 17th it was quite possible that the CPI also would, set the date of its programme earlier. Under these circumstances, we stated that it would be our bounden duty to awaken the people about the objective of our own programme of struggle, steadfastly move forward by organising the people and make the necessary preparation for the success of our programme. It is only in this respect, that our central trade union organisation, namely the UTUC (Lenin Sarani), urged upon others to make necessary preparation before calling a strike and also objected to the decision in setting the date of strike on 19th Nov. without first of all organising the necessary groundwork for it. But all had then agreed to the date of strike on 19th Nov. and some of them had even tried to disparage us among the people by propagating this objection made by us as reflection of a mentality opposed to the movement.

Be that as it may we had no objection regarding the point they have raised about converging the two programmes of struggle developed to fulfil two mutually opposite ends for the purpose of united struggle under the present situation. Our contention was that it was

important to judge who were converging their programme with whom. For it is not by works alone that the seriousness of a party about its political motive can be testified, whether its political behaviour and programme run in tune with its main political objective have also to be judged as the two are closely interlinked with each other. It is only because of this relation that no political party, particularly the party which claims itself as revolutionary can in the name of united struggle or kicking up such issues whether unity is for struggle or struggle meant for unity, sacrifice under any circumstances its basic political line and objective. So whatever words may be uttered by the CPI(M) against the Congress the CPI(M) by converging the programme of the leftists with that of the CPI have actually sacrificed the basic political line of opposing the Congress and helped the CPI to achieve success of its political line.

The present role of the CPI is not at all suprising in the context of its political alliance with the Congress developed over a long time. We have discussed before the reasons behind CPI's effort to hinder the process of developing a mighty left movement against the Congress. For, the CPI is visualising that in the event of a mighty united left movement against the Congress gradually taking shape the full possibility of which is there in West Bengal it will be compelled to face inevitably the most precarious situation. In that eventuality, their continued alliance would wash off their remaining leftist image forever or they would be forced to take part in the left movement for protecting its leftist image by severing its connection with the Congress. But the CPI owing to its present political line is unable to undertake any of these steps. Rather if they can create confusion

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Pro-Congress Movement of CPI Strengthened by CPI(M)

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under the disguise of some sham movements then they will be able to fulfil the following ends. Firstly, they can frustrate the possibility of developing a mighty left movement against the Congress, secondly they can project their still existing leftist image and can even add up to it; thirdly, they can achieve their own political ends by creating some pressure upon the Congress. Besides, in the international sphere owing to the increasing tendency of the Indian bourgeoisie to establish normal relation with China the CPI in catering to the interest of the Soviet Union, and for mounting pressure on this tendency of the Indian Government is reflecting in the recent times an attitude of struggle against the Congress. The CPI(M) leaders are either unable to grasp this truth or willfully avoiding this truth for their own pro-Soviet stance at the present moment. The CPI gave a call for Bangla bandh on 27th July precisely to fulfil this purpose and was also able to drag the CPI(M) by creating cleavage within the left movement at that time.

But after the 27th July, when the nine parties again started negotiations during the last month for developing unitedly a movement against the Congress the CPI also initiated discussions with the various parties on the basis of its new theory of convergence of their own programme of struggle with the programme of the left parties and advocated struggle at the same time and in harmony despite the fact that no united struggle was possible at this juncture. In our discussion with the CPI leaders we had categorically expressed that since the aim of their struggle is not directed towards the left trend of movement against the Congress rather it helps the Congress to remain in power so it is not at all

possible to converge their programme of struggle with the programme of anti-Congress united left political movement. But if they merge their struggle even if partially with the programme of struggle of united left democratic movement against the Congress, we would of course welcome this move. The CPI leaders did not turn up for discussion with us any further. But the news were flashed in the newspapers that they had frequent bilateral talks with the CPI(M) leaders on it and the CPI(M) leaders had also assured them that the substance of their talks regarding this matter at the nine party meeting would be duly conveyed to them. It was also known as published in "Bangladesh" a journal under the influence of CPI(M) that the CPI(M) leader, Mr. Saroj Mukherjee had a talk on it with the CPI leader Mr Bhupesh Gupta at Delhi. So there are strong grounds to suspect that like the 27th July incident all these events developed in a pre-planned way through collusion between these two parties.

Now the question is when the CPI(M) leaders are making fiery speeches day in and day out against the Congress and posing as most revolutionary what reasons are there for knowingly helping that very process which is undermining the anti-Congress left democratic movement? The reasons are as follows. Firstly we have discussed before many times that despite much noise against the Congress the CPI(M) has no difference with the CPI in its basic angularity regarding its political evolution about the Congress except in some tactical approaches. Secondly owing to the present inclination of the CPM leaders towards the Soviet revisionism, which is vividly reflected in its last Central Committee statement wherein it has unduly eulogised the

Soviet Union on the one hand and made irrelevant criticism about China on the other, the CPI(M) is now trying to come closer to the CPI. Thirdly the CPI(M) is now anxious to avoid open confrontation with the Congress and only willing to show its mentality of struggle to the extent it is necessary for capitalising on the anti-Congress mood of the people for furthering its election politics. Fourthly, the CPI(M) views that any movement jointly sponsored with the CPI will minimise the risk of its confrontation with the Congress as the CPI still maintains political alliance with the Congress. Fifthly, Smt. Indira Gandhi being afraid of the internal squabble within the Congress is trying to develop an understanding with the CPI(M) in order to protect her seat of power at the time of any crisis just in the way she could rely on the support of the CPI(M) which helped her to maintain her minority government at power during the period of Congress's division. Besides in her bid to establish normal relation with China the Soviet Union is building internal pressure on her through the CPI. Smt. Gandhi is making an attempt to develop a tacit understanding with the CPI(M) to counteract this pressure as a balancing force. Such a process has already started despite mutual bickerings in parliamentary politics. So it is seen that the CPI and the CPI(M) are coming closer together owing to their almost same basic political evaluation about the Congress and the process of developing an understanding among themselves under the influence of the Soviet Union. Whatever may be their animosities before, these two parties together are creating hindrance, directly and indirectly in the path of organising and consolidating an anti-Congress left democratic movement on the basis

of acute problems now afflicting our people.

In this context a question may be raised as to why our party which did not extend support to Bangla bandh on 27th July last has become a participant of 17th Nov. programme this time. Firstly, on the previous occasion, as the programme of movement adopted at the eight party meeting was just beginning to make some headway, the CPI gave its call of Bangla bandh on 27th July and the CPI(M) keeping the programme adopted by the eight parties pending, participated in the bandh on the 27th July last as sponsored by the CPI. But this time the nine parties have declared their programme of struggle and proceeded ahead on the basis of a comprehensive plan in organising public opinion and creating necessary groundwork, despite some limitations and weaknesses. Secondly, the nine party accepted programme of mass civil disobedience movement to be launched from 12th Nov. to 15th Nov. and the programme of Bangla bandh on 19th are but a part of the comprehensive plan of struggle chalked out at the present stage. So, while implementing the entire plan of struggle, even if there is some disagreement over a part of this programme, the unity which has already developed out of execution of this entire programme of struggle cannot be jeopardised. Had the CPI joined, even if partially, in the programme of the nine parties then whatever might have been the motive of the CPI, the movement would have been strengthened. In spite of our utmost endeavour we are not able to forestall the attempt of changing the date of the programme of nine parties from 19th November to 17th in the name of converging this programme with the movement led by the CPI. With a view to protect and con-

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NOVEMBER REVOLUTION

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year of the November Revolution Day, the CPC has suggested normal relation at state level between the Soviet Union and China, despite ideological differences. A similar suggestion in tune with Com Ghose's appeal has also been made in the report of the tenth Congress of the Communist party of China. It is earnestly hoped that the Soviet Union will respond to this call of the Communist party of China and earnestly endeavour to restore the lost unity in the socialist camp without delay.

On this occasion, another important teaching of the November Revolution must be recalled. One of the most important teachings of the November Revolution is that without a revolutionary party there cannot be any revolution. November Revolution clearly vindicated that in the absence of a revolutionary working class party which is the vanguard of the working class and the other toiling people, the broad masses cannot be led to the cherished goal of emancipation from the yoke of capitalist exploitation. November Revolution clearly disproves the viewpoints of the social democrats who tried to negate the leading role of a revolutionary party. So while carrying out the historical task of proletarian revolution in our country, we must remember

this important teaching of November Revolution.

It is only the SUCI which has emerged with all the characteristics of a true working class party. The collective knowledge and the collective leadership of the party which has emerged out of the struggle for building up ideological centralism within party has taken a concrete shape in Com Shibdas Ghose, the leader and teacher of the party, the SUCI. It is under his leadership that the party provided correct analysis of different national and international issues. The correctness of these analysis has again and again been proved. It is under the correct leadership of Com Shibdas Ghose, one of the foremost Marxist thinker of the age that the SUCI has been able to correctly analyse the character of the Indian state and chalk out the programme for anti-capitalist socialist revolution. It is through carrying out this programme of the SUCI that the cherished dream of the Indian people for establishing socialism and changing the bourgeois social order can be realised. So it is the bounden duty of all oppressed people of our country to strengthen the SUCI by extending all possible help and by doing so the historical task of proletarian revolution can be accomplished and the ideals of November Revolution can be translated in our soil.

"Convergence"

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solidate the unity of the nine parties, we have ultimately agreed to change the date to 17th after registering our strong protest in writing and our right to ventilate our political stand before the people has been accepted in the meeting of the nine parties.

In this connection another question may arise whether such expression and propagation of differences of opinion will weaken the

movement at a time when the movement is being built up. To this we like to say that previously mass movements attained tremendous strength; but were not these movements ended in utter failure due to lapses and lacuni within them? So when the movement is being built up, a detailed discussion about its weaknesses is absolutely necessary to lead it to successful culmination. But whenever we have attempted to show the various weaknesses within the movement, our view points have

Kerala State Conference of D. S. O.

On the eve of the D.S.O's All India conference the Kerala State Conference of D.S.O, was held on the 30th and 31st October at puilon with great enthusiasm.

Com. Pravas Ghosh General Secretary A.I.D.S.O brilliantly analysed in this conference how the ruling capitalist class of India was pushing the education system to words complete regimentation and restricting it at the same time from their own class interest and showed why the struggle for the solution of the present day educational problems was inseparably linked up with anti-capitalist revolutionary movement in the country. In this context he urged upon the students community to help D.S.O in all respects to build up proper militant student movement in India and to make the ensuing All India Conference of D.S.O to be held in January '74 at Cuttak a grand success.

The conference was presided over by Com. A. Jalaluddin. R. Pabitrarn was elected as the Secretary and T. Bijoy Kumar, Mohan Kumar, G. Chettiar Laksman, Mohes Babu, Bijoy C. Pai and R. Gita Devi were elected as members to the State Organising Committee formed in the conference.

In the accepted resolution of the conference allocation of 10% of the budget to education, withdrawal of 12-years school course and 3-years degree course, abolition of seat restriction scheme,

adoption of secular democratic and scientific syllabus, introduction of two language formula (mother tongue and English) instead of three language formula, recognition of right of education in mother tongue and recognition of English as the link language, prohibition of publication of obscene literatures and such cinema shows, prohibition of police entree into education compus to suppress democratic student movements and for providing job to all unemployed persons were made.

Police Lathi Charge

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The police chased the demonstrators even in the Surendranath Park and beat them mercilessly. This barbarous police onslaught on the peaceful demonstrators clearly revealed the nervousness of the Congress Government in the face of the growing tide of mass movements in the state.

The leaders of the nine left party strongly condemned this fascist attack of the Congress Government and urged upon the people to make the bandh on 17th November a total success to defeat the anti-people food policy of the Congress Government.

been gaged on the plea that the movement would be weakened. We feel that the differences within the various parties about the aim and object of the movement do not create any hindrance. On the contrary movement gains strength and the political consciousness of the people gets clearer if these differences are publicly discussed.

We feel that unless the disruptive politics of the CPI and the opportunism of the CPI(M) are not defeated, the left democratic movement in West Bengal can not

develop in its natural course. We appeal to the people of West Bengal to defeat all direct and indirect attempts to detract the anti-Congress movement and participate in thousands to make the civil disobedience movement on 15th and the Bangla Bandh on 17th a grand success. We firmly believe that the people of the state will create a firmer basis of a bigger movement by defeating all the heinous attempts of the Congress and its Government to crush the anti-Congress movement through terror and intimidation.